THE New Republic

The D. H. Lawrence I Knew, *by Frieda Lawrence Ravagli*

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Morality and Self-Respect

A philosopher argues that good conduct does not require religious belief

Labor in France . . . . . *Victor Reuther*

The Tyranny of Labels . . . . *Dr. Max Seham*

LATTIMORE AND HIS ACCUSERS

Communications from Norman Thomas, David Riesman, Richard Rovere, Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., Herbert Muller — and an editorial reply

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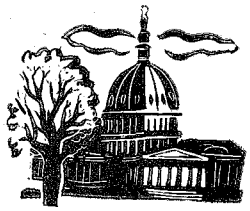

Washington Wire .... *T.R.B.*

The time has come to report that there has been a substantial and encouraging improvement in Washington climate. People are talking more rationally about subversives, atom bombs, China and Russia. We are frequently startled by the comment of a friend that would have been ranked as heresy a year ago. It may be too early to say it, but America seems to be slowly returning to reality after the binge of the century.

Let's look at the evidence. McCarthy has been censured, paid informers are recanting, people are not merely suspicious—they are bored—over charges of Communists under the bed, demagogues are regretfully hunting out new rackets.

Now take Ike and Dulles. Two years ago they were grandiloquently "unleashing" Chiang, substituting "rollback" for containment, and frightening Europe out of its wits with "massive retaliation." That era, with its loud-mouthed slogans, is about over, thank heaven. At that time the Administration was competing with McCarthy and simultaneously snubbing Truman. Now signals are reversed. Most of our present trouble comes from our silly past talk. But anyway the deification of Chiang is about over, we acknowledge that the idea of invading the mainland is (and was) a myth, and it is possible to say right out that the reason we remain fuzzy and hesitant about Quemoy and Matsu is not some noble, moralistic reason but because we are afraid the morale of Chiang's aging troops will be irretrievably lost if the islands are abandoned.

Two years ago Taft was calling Truman and Acheson "traitors" for setting a limited goal on war in Korea; today that is the goal Ike sets on war if it comes in Formosa. Signs of sanity are seeping back. We learn that the Administration is actually sounding out allies about swapping surplus butter and grain with Moscow—an idea greeted with horror last year. The whole boundary of what is "patriotic" is being pushed back. Last week Dulles referred to "historic friendship" with Russia (not, mind you, the Soviet Union)—a phrase we haven't heard around here in years. Just below the official level it is now admitted that "two Chinas" have come to stay and that Peking ultimately must enter the UN and be recognized.

And now the Administration has spunked up courage to tell the awful truth about the fallout from the H-bomb blanket. One bomb may poison 7,000 square miles. Not cheerful, eh? Yes, but how much better for national morale than the panicky belief that national morale couldn't stand it! We don't mean to be premature, but we live in the Washington sickroom and we can report definite improvement. Any day now they may let the patient out of his straitjacket.

We don't really see what the Republicans will do at their San Francisco convention next year. Everything was decided here in advance at last week's GOP meeting. It will be Ike and, alas, probably Nixon. (Ike will be 70 at the end of his hypothetical second term—the oldest of any President in history—and we do hope his health is good if re-elected.) The campaign program will be "peace, prosperity and lower taxes." Chairman Leonard Hall's confidence is such that he feels safe to berate the ultra-conservative GOP wing. Ike has obligingly coined one of his sparkling aphorisms: the goal is going to be "dynamic conservatism" (née "moderate progressivism"). The Gallup Poll indicates Ike would beat Adlai by a bigger margin now than in 1952. Most Washington reporters agree.

What is Ike's secret? Well, he is an attractive personality and national war hero. He comes when the nation yearns for normalcy. Instead of making enemies by strong stands on social issues he shoots quail. When he should have been on the telephone last week rallying bolting House Republicans to pass his tariff bill, he was playing golf. It was left to Rayburn and the Democrats to save him. On the issues where Ike does take a strong stand, he is sincere; he feels almost religiously that "private enterprise" must be guarded, that TVA threatens "creeping socialism," that local initiative (always foggily defined) is the way to salvation.

Coupled with these devout bromides is a fiscal pattern that is actually quite modern, unorthodox and Keynesian. For example, Ike has gracefully dropped the pledges to balance the budget; it is hard for supporters to face the fact that he has deliberately chosen not to balance the budget and probably won't balance it for all four years. It is hard to face it, so they don't face it. (Economists generally applaud his big financial switch.)

Ike believes in progress. He has not tried to repeal the New Deal. Indeed a kind of yearning ameliorism for the masses runs through his awe of business tycoons. He offers palliatives in health, education and social welfare. He is a baker of half loaves. Most of these viands he proposes to buy by strangely unorthodox fiscal devices, devices which would make his followers scream with alarm if a simple fellow like Truman offered them: he would set up Ponzi-like intermediary private authorities, financed through Wall Street, to float billions in loans that would not show up as "debt" on the unbalanced budget. This is most particularly true of the odd installment-purchase proposals Ike is really interested in—Dixon-Yates power plants and vast new highways.

Is this the whole Eisenhower secret? No, in fairness, it isn't. If we are correct, besides all this Ike has recently tuned himself in to the deep, pacific mood of America and is expressing the national will in his restraint of generals and admirals. He is not consistent here, either, of course. for these are the same military men he himself appointed; nevertheless it is he who is vetoing war and dampening down the atom rattling of the Radfords and Nixons. This total combination is formidable. Perhaps, in the present national temper, it is politically unbeatable.

Notes: Good old Charlie Wilson says the US is still "out ahead" in the atom race and that the Formosa crisis is "only a ripple"; we wonder how veterans of World Ripple I and World Ripple II feel about it. . . . The veterans of the military Order of the Caribou, in meeting here, have been lampooning the "eggheads"; we often ask which came first, the Egghead or the Chicken Colonel.

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BEHIND THE HEADLINES

The New Era in Destructive Capacity

THE Atomic Energy Commission finally has confirmed what men of prescience have long been writing about: radioactive "fallout"—the "new dimension in killing power" described in detail in the *New Republic* of February 14. In its report, however, the AEC chose to remain determinedly conservative. It described the effects of a 1954 model superbomb of given size—12 to 14 megatons (million tons of TNT): such a bomb would first destroy through heat and blast an area the size of a large city, then disperse a "fallout"—billions of particles sucked up by the blast and coated with radioactivity — threatening death over a down-wind elliptical area of 7,000 square miles or more.

The report failed to be explicit about the "persistence" of radioactivity—about the fact that an area the size of New Jersey would be rendered virtually uninhabitable and its industry inoperative for weeks and possibly months. And it is unfortunately true that anyone seriously concerned about remaining alive after a super-bomb attack will find more practical and detailed information in the *NR* than in the AEC report.

But more important than these obvious omissions is the report's failure even to hint at the fact that the technology of destruction has now taken an immense leap forward, one that dwarfs even that signaled by the dropping of the first atomic bomb in 1945.

On February 20, Civil Defense Administrator Val Peterson stated that given our present technological knowledge, there is no reason why we cannot manufacture super-bombs in the 20, 30, 40, megaton range. He then took comfort in the fact that bombs reach a point of "diminishing returns," which is to say that increase in power (and cost) does not, after a certain point, add enough to a bomb's destructive range to make it worthwhile. But this is true only of blast. The "fallout" area does increase proportionally as the bomb's power is increased: if a 12-megaton bomb "falls-out" over 7,000 square miles (a very conservative estimate), a 24-megaton bomb will drop radioactivity over nearly 14,000 square miles; a 48-megaton bomb, over nearly 28,000 square miles, etc. Blast effect radiates out balloon-wise, whereas "fallout" follows a linear pattern: double the amount of air in a balloon, and its circumference will increase only two-thirds; double the quantity of sand you have available, and you can cover twice as much flat surface.

There is every reason to believe that there has now been discovered a means of vastly increasing the destructive power of the stockpile we already possess—and of doing this quickly and cheaply. If this is true, it means we have entered an era as different from 1953-54 as 1945 was from 1943-44. And there is also reason to believe the Russians have entered this era along with us—and that talk of being "two or three years ahead" of Russia in stockpiling is *meaningless*, for even a very modest stockpile now could be converted into power enough to throw a "fallout" over all of the flatlands of the United States.

Next week the *NR* will examine at length the evidence indicating our entry into this new era of low-cost, mass-destruction potential. In the meantime, those who believe that this is not Year 9 of the Atomic Age, but Year 1 of something far worse, feel that we should take advantage of the UN Disarmament Commission meeting now going on in London to make some proposal of our own which might serve as the first step along the road to eventual safety from mass-destruction rather than just to write off as propaganda the recent Soviet disarmament bid.

Chinese Junks: US Words

THE CHINESE Nationalists today hold a score of islands off the coast of China. Nanchi Shan, south of the Tachens, is being reinforced even while Communist planes gather overhead. Quemoy, the most important of the islands, is also the most vulnerable geographically and by far the most heavily fortified. Matsu, hilly and far enough out to sea to require an amphibious assault, is still lightly held.

An attack upon Quemoy would be a major operation for the Communists, requiring months of preparation. According to the Nationalists the build-up for an assault upon Matsu is now under way. Whether or not it takes place within weeks, it is certain that the Chinese Communists will intensify their military pressure upon all these islands, combining with it increased political pressure to demoralize the Nationalists and to divide the US and its allies.

In the presence of the mounting danger, US policy remains entirely unclear. The confusion created by the President's offhand remarks was, if anything, ex-

Hello—Ike?

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tended by Secretary Dulles' carefully considered words to the Foreign Policy Association dinner on February 16. First, Mr. Dulles praised the Tachen evacuation because it spared the world "a bloody and wasteful battle which would have inflamed public emotions." Next, he declared that the evacuation of the coastal islands would not aid peace.

He then added: "It is hardly to be expected that the Chinese Communists will renounce their ambitions. However might they not renounce their efforts to realize their goals by force?" He went on to caution against "indefinitely granting *one-sided* concessions to the Communist nations" (*italics ours*). He then affirmed that we would stand firm because retreat would undermine the faith of free peoples. "The American people," he said, referring to the highly ambiguous resolution adopted by Congress, have "made their own resolution clear." And, in a further reference to this verdict which no one can interpret let alone execute, the Secretary concluded, "that is a verdict which the government accepts as sound and which it will soberly execute."

Where this leaves the non-Communist world nobody but Mr. Dulles seems to know. No two people at the banquet could agree on what he had said. The *New York Times* took it to mean nothing and promptly endorsed it. The *London Times* and the *Manchester Guardian*, among other newspapers, took it as a declaration of intent to hold Quemoy and Matsu and criticized it as such. We gather that they were all wrong, and that Mr. Dulles was telling Peking that they could have the coastal islands—on terms. The terms are a bargain: we will secure the peaceful evacuation of the coastal islands if Peking will agree to a cease-fire in the Formosa Straits.

This would indeed be a bargain for the US, but hardly for Peking. For two objectives dominate Peking's foreign policy: the withdrawal by the US from bases around China, and the elimination of all prospects for a Nationalist restoration backed by the US. Both objectives would be frustrated by the "bargain" Mr. Dulles holds out.

Communist China, therefore, seems unlikely to agree to our terms. Nor is the Kremlin providing effective restraints. Three factors seem to be working against the useful fear in the Kremlin that Peking will lead Russia into a world war. The first is the weakness caused by the shakeup in the Soviet regime; the second is the Soviet desire to divert US energies to the Formosa area and therefore away from the rearmament of Western Germany; the third factor is the Soviet desire to liquidate the Nationalist regime. The Kremlin was contented with phrases while the Nationalists were content with arresting British ships engaged in coastal trade. But last June the Nationalists took in a brand new Soviet tanker, the *Tuaipse*, coming from the open sea to deliver oil to Communist China.

Commonwealth Unity

EXCITEMENT over the fall of Malenkov and Mendès-France has diverted attention from the most successful meeting of Commonwealth Prime Ministers since the war. Pessimists who held that postwar changes in the nature of the Commonwealth would destroy its influence in world affairs have been refuted. In fact the loosening of constitutional ties between Britain and the overseas members has encouraged closer co-operation in practice. Whereas before the war most Commonwealth conferences wasted much of their time arguing about questions of status, nowadays even Pakistan's decision to become a Republic is accepted without discussion, and talks concentrate on issues where all can recognize a common interest.

Indeed the very vagueness of the Commonwealth's constitutional structure helps its members to avoid wrangling about the issues which divide them—South Africa's racial policy, for example, or Kashmir. Instead, all energies are turned toward constructing common policies on issues where the possibility of agreement is known to exist.

The most interesting development was the move toward creating a Commonwealth defense force in Southeast Asia. In the past the overseas members have been most reluctant to commit themselves to any defense machinery which might appear to limit their freedom of choice in an emergency. Now Australia and New Zealand have agreed to join Britain in producing an airborne task force stationed in Malaya for use as required under the Manila Treaty. This will immensely strengthen the Commonwealth's hand at the forthcoming Bangkok Conference of SEATO. Equally important, it will give weight to Commonwealth pressure on the American Administration for a clearer policy on a cease-fire in the Formosa Straits. The Commonwealth is unanimously in favor of Chiang's withdrawal from Quemoy and the Matsus, and there are rumors that Australia and New Zealand may now join Britain and the Asian members of the Commonwealth in recognizing Communist China.

It seems that agreement was also reached on a concrete Commonwealth defense policy in the Middle East. Till now there has been a certain gap between Britain's hopes for a defense

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treaty with the Arab League and Pakistan's adhesion to the American concept of a "Northern Tier," even at the expense of rupturing Arab unity, as Iraq's move to join the Turkey-Pakistan Pact may well do. The recent conference has helped to emphasize the extraordinary importance of the Commonwealth as an organization whose members between them exercise influence in every continent and on both camps in the Cold War. India's direct influence among the Asian peoples has compelled both Russia and China to accord her a respect which the Communist leaders were far from granting in the years immediately after her liberation. And Britain herself may soon acquire new weight in America's counsels as a result of the leadership she has begun to direct in Europe.

Nonetheless, there are no signs of the Commonwealth moving into the position of a Third Force between Russia and America. On the contrary, the Conference communique emphasized the need for the closest association with the United States in all defense measures. Oddly enough, one of the main factors in producing Commonwealth unity since the war has been the recognition by most members of the need for close co-operation with the USA. If Britain herself began to move away from America, Australia, New Zealand and Canada at least would move away from Britain. But so long as co-operation with America is taken for granted, the Commonwealth can concert a common policy toward America within the framework of the alliance.

The one great unsolved problem is, of course, the gulf separating America from India on the Chinese issue. But this too seems nearer a solution than for years past. And it is most encouraging that India should have chosen to conduct her policy with and through the Commonwealth rather than rush into an independent initiative.

London DENIS HEALEY, M.P.

Dixon-Yates Tussle

WHEN the AEC ignored, until after the February 15 deadline, the Joint House-Senate Atomic Energy Committee's recommendation that the Dixon-Yates contract be cancelled, Congress was left without immediate power to delay the project further. So it seems that the Atomic Energy Commission (acting as a broker) will buy power on a guaranteed-profit basis from the Dixon-Yates combine, then sell it to TVA for use in the Memphis area.

But Sen. Lister Hill has discovered new evidence of the Bureau of the Budget irregularities in the handling of the Dixon-Yates contract which practically assures a complete investigation of the whole deal by the Joint Atomic Committee. Hill found out that early in 1954—when the present contract was still a secret known only to the Administration, Middle South Utilities, Inc. (President, E. H. Dixon), the Southern Company (Chairman, E. A. Yates) and a few others—one Adolphe H. Wenzell appeared in Washington for a short period as special consultant to the Bureau of the Budget. (Wenzell took no pay.) The Bureau of the Budget at the time was "negotiating" the proposed contract with Dixon-Yates representatives. The Dixon-Yates combine had already checked with one of the country's largest and most influential investment banks in the utility field and been assured that if the contract could be swung, there would be no difficulty about selling "$114 million of 3.5 percent bonds to insurance companies." That investment bank was the First Boston Corporation. Adolphe H. Wenzell—who was so conveniently handy to help the then Budget Bureau Director, Joseph Dodge, protect the government's interests—is a vice president and director of the First Boston Corporation.

When, on August 21, 1954, in the face of severe criticism, the Budget Bureau released a "full and candid" account of the Dixon-Yates negotiations, it failed to mention the participation of Adolphe Wenzell. When the new Budget Director, Rowland Hughes, "welcoming the opportunity to review the facts," appeared before the Joint Committee on December 4, 1954, he also neglected to mention Wenzell. When Senator Hill came across a confidential Dixon-Yates memorandum concerning a visit by Wenzell to the Dixon-Yates offices in Washington, to set up a briefing session that would help Budget Bureau officials "anticipate an argument from TVA," he asked the Budget Bureau about Wenzell. A letter of reply from Hughes on February 12, 1955, made no mention of Wenzell's participation in the Dixon-Yates negotiations. A few days later, February 16, Dixon-Yates announced that the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company and the New York Life Insurance Company have agreed to buy $77 million of the $99 million in bonds which will be sold to finance the power plant called for by the contract. Wenzell's firm—the First Boston Corporation—is the investment broker for New York Life.

Outside Congress, opponents of the Dixon-Yates deal suffered a setback when the Securities Exchange Commission approved the Dixon-Yates contract and refused the state of Tennessee's appeal for a new hearing. But the attorneys representing Tennessee, as well as some 40 municipalities and power-distributing co-operatives in the 7-state area, will appeal the SEC's approval of the contract to the courts on the ground that the contract violates the Public Utility Holding Company Act of 1935—which the Commission is required to enforce. The contract, these attorneys say, calls for illegal concentration and interlocking of control in a public utility: the various power companies already amalgamated into Middle South (Dixon) and Southern (Yates) are further merged into a still larger combine which will operate the plant at West Memphis, Ark. And the ratio of equity to mortgage capital called for in the contract, these lawyers maintain, violates both the law and the bulk of the SEC's past decisions: Dixon-Yates is putting up only 5 percent ($5.5 million) of the $107 million to build the plant, borrowing 95 percent. (Usual proportion, 50-50.)

Opponents of Dixon-Yates also intend to challenge seriously the right under law of insurance companies to invest in such a project. Laws governing an insurance company's investments contain stringent requirements to protect policyholders, and there is considerable doubt that the 95-to-5 financial structure of the Dixon-Yates undertaking meets those requirements. A letter-writing campaign urging the insurance commissioners of all states to check for violation of state laws has been launched.

Finally, the city of Memphis, Tennessee, has declared that if the Dixon-Yates contract goes through, it will build its own power plant rather than buy from Dixon-Yates—a gesture which indicates that whatever the outcome of the fight in Congress, the Courts and state insurance commissions, the Dixon-Yates combine may one day wish it had never reached for this particular apple.

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Comrade K Lays Down the Concrete Line

NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV'S views on friendship with the United States, his alliances with Zhukov (and Zhukov's with Sokolovsky); the status of his sister who may or may not be Malenkov's wife have all been fully discussed in the American press. More important in considering the Soviet future, however, is Khrushchev's professional status. He is a pipefitter, at heart a construction man.

"What is a married man?" he demanded of the "volunteers" assembled

in January, 1955, to hear him before they set off to conquer the barren wastes of Asiatic Russia. Without hesitation Khrushchev answered: "It is a man who wants to raise a family and to settle firmly in a new place." Got that, men. "There must be in a family at least three children," Khrushchev decreed, "and they must be well brought up!"

Equally explicit are the views on prefabricated ferroconcrete slabs contained in Khrushchev's four-hour speech of December 27, 1954, to the All Union Conference of Builders, Architects and Workers of the Industry of Construction Materials, Construction and Road Machine Building, Planning and Scientific Research Organization.

To these comrades Khrushchev read the resolution of the Central Committee of the CPSU at the Council of Ministers of the USSR on the Development of the Production of Prefabricated Ferroconcrete Structures and Parts for Construction. "We shall not mention any names and reproach such persons who tried to induce the builders to use plain concrete only," said Khrushchev. "It is clear to everybody that we must march along a more progressive path, along the path of using ferroconcrete structures and parts for building."

Probing more deeply, Khrushchev observed that some comrades had debated whether to use "the frameless form" of prefabricated ferroconcrete "with the use of large-size slabs or the frame with slab method." Neither he nor the Central Committee of the CPSU, said Khrushchev, had ruled as yet on this point which could safely be left to the future to decide. But waste cannot. "Many people are complaining," Khrushchev told the All Union Conference of Builders and others, "that there is no timber. This is correct. There is not enough timber. However, much timber is being spent in a wasteful manner. . . . Only wooden ties are being used on railway lines. As for kilometer signposts, those are being made of rails only. Masts and water pipes are all made of metal." These observations led the Secretary of the Communist Party to the vital question, "Cannot all this be made of reinforced concrete?"

A happy Khrushchev told the All Union builders of his observations in Communist China in 1954: "With Comrades Bulganin and Mikoyan we saw many masts and posts made of reinforced concrete."

Khrushchev, however, was not wholly satisfied with what he saw in the land of Mao Tse-tung. He had noted, he told the All Union Conference, that in the construction of factories in Communist China "prefabricated, reinforced concrete is almost never used." Khrushchev was baffled. "Why is this so?" he demanded of the Soviet builders. Who better to answer this question than Comrade Khrushchev? It was for the sake of speed, said Khrushchev, that the Chinese comrades had strayed from the path laid down by the Central Committee of the CPSU and the Council of Ministers of the USSR. "This," added Khrushchev, "is not correct!" "Comrades!" he cried, "everything in construction which can be replaced by concrete must be so replaced!"

Next the Party Secretary addressed himself to "the industrialization of the construction industry." "How many small building organizations are there which do not build by economic methods?" he demanded of the All Union builders, architects and workers. "An infinite number!" Moreover the infinite number is growing! "We must come back on the road of decisive amalgamation of building organizations," cried Khrushchev. "The creation of big building organizations is necessary," said Khrushchev, "because *it makes it possible to introduce on a large scale in building precast reinforced concrete units and parts.*"

Next Khrushchev turned to the architects assembled in the All Union Conference. The architects, he complained, were clinging to individual designs; a definite obstacle in the way of the progressive march toward complete concentration upon prefabricated ferroconcrete slabs. "We may meet with some resistance in this task," said Khrushchev. "It seems that some people will have to be taught the necessity of this task."

Standardization evidently is not a password to happiness among Soviet architects. They are, said Khrushchev, preoccupied with beauty. He roundly berated Architect Zakhorov, who was more concerned with "beautiful shapes" than with living quarters, and noted with pleasure that Zakhorov had been dismissed for these "architectural antics" from his post as Head of the Architectural Design Office. Next Khrushchev turned upon Architect Mordinov, president of the Academy of Architecture. Mordinov, Khrushchev noted, had put his name to the view that "Architecture serves to satisfy the aesthetic needs of the people. . . . There is perhaps no town that can be beautiful without groups of tall houses." Mordinov further had criticized "constructivism" defined in the *Great Soviet Encyclopedia* of 1953 as a doctrine "advancing the demands of functional and constructional necessity." To Mordinov "constructivism" was "an inartistic and boring characteristic of present-day bourgeois architecture." "You, Comrade Mordinov," cried Khrushchev, "and those in your train have suppressed voices against adornment and showiness in architecture!"

"I am poking into the sore wounds of architects," said Khrushchev, the model constructivist. "It can no longer be tolerated that many architects hiding behind phrases about 'combatting constructivism' are wasting the people's money. . . . The fronts of buildings must be beautiful through the correct proportions of the entire building . . . truthful revelations of wall structures in homes made of large blocks or slabs."

Khrushchev's next words to the

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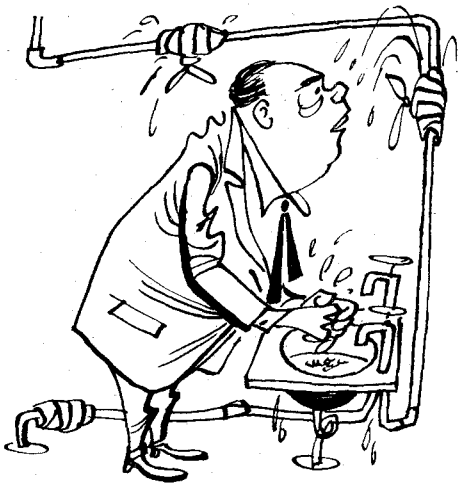
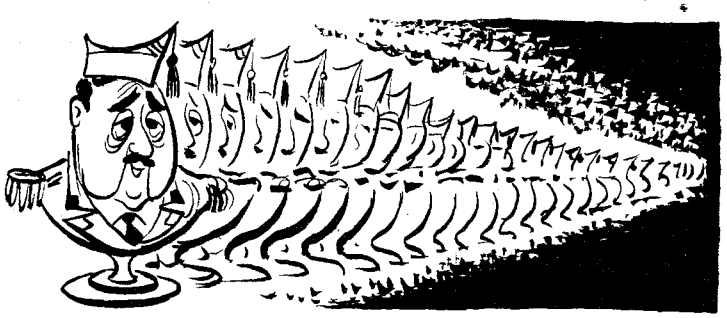
architects concerned the "harmful itch for reconstruction." In Sverdlovsk, he reported, comrades wished to reconstruct everything in sight. They had been informed that a recurrence of this itch would be met with punishment. "I am sure," said Khrushchev, "that the majority of architects understand our demands. Those who will not understand should be corrected."

But Khrushchev was not done with Sverdlovsk. He continued:

> In Sverdlovsk we lived in a hotel. One should assume that we were not given the worst rooms. But in this hotel we observed that the plumbing system was badly built . . . the quality of facing pipes was bad and sloppily laid. The pipes of the plumbing system were covered with rust. Apparently before our arrival they were hurriedly painted with some gray paint and at the same time the walls were painted together with the pipes. The joints in the pipes of the plumbing system were badly made. I, as a former fitter, was extremely indignant. Even in revolutionary times the joints of pipes in a coal field were made better than those in the Sverdlovsk hotel.

What of parquet flooring? Khrushchev was against it. "Floors covered with linoleum," he informed the All Union architects, builders and workers, "are not inferior to parquet and they are more hygenic and decorative." Also: "Ceramic is the best material for facing because it is lasting, beautiful and does not change color." Also: "We must develop the building of cement concrete roads as they are the best roads." And finally: Conferences should be held throughout the Union by the All Union Conference; for "after generalizing all the material of this conference it is necessary to work out concrete proposals."





Unbroken Continuity in Spain

SPANISH DICTATOR FRANCO—like Joe McCarthy—benefits from an attitude dear to American sentimentalists: the man may be bad, but his "basic purpose" is good. These point to the recent agreement between Franco and the Count of Barcelona—son of the last King of Spain and present Pretender to the throne—that the Count's son, Prince Juan Carlos, age 16, should return to Spain and complete his studies there as evidence of Franco's "basic" good intentions. Franco, they say, will place Prince Carlos on the throne. With the restoration of a Spanish King, a sort of English-type parliamentary system will be established in Spain and freedom will prevail.

An interview given *Arriba,* Spain's Falange paper, by Franco, and intended for internal consumption, reveals his goals to be far different. Title: "Monarchy, but neither liberal nor parliamentary." The interview:

EDITOR: My General . . . concerning your interview with the Count of Barcelona and the subsequent return of Prince Juan Carlos to continue his studies in Spain, would Your Excellency be so kind as to dispel with your authoritative words the malicious interpretations abroad and the possible confusion at home?

FRANCO: I think it very opportune, particularly since in the comment abroad . . . there exists a continued morbid and malicious speculation of those interested in our decadence, incited by our eternal enemies who use every opportunity to quicken the almost extinct flame of their illusory hope. . . .

EDITOR: And does not Your Excellency think that in the speculations abroad is the hope that one day a pilot less hard and skilled may guide our nation?

FRANCO: Evidently. All the declared and concealed enemies of our new resurgence long for a change that could weaken us as a nation. For that reason we must avoid any change and be not so clumsy as to offer them the opportunity to weaken or divide us. . . . The Monarchy that one day may be restored in our nation cannot be confused with the liberal and the parliamentary system.

EDITOR: And regarding the steps taken in connection with the education of Prince Juan Carlos, is there any constructive pattern being followed to form his personality?

FRANCO: . . . It is natural that if one day a prince is called to rule the destiny of our nation we should trouble ourselves that princes of the Spanish dynasties be prepared and identified with the nation and that they meet the necessary requirements of fitness decreed by the Law of Succession. The steps taken reflect sensible foresight since, though I enjoy excellent health, my 62 years counsel me to do everything possible to fulfill the purpose of the Law of Succession. Anyhow, this Law offers us solutions in that case, which we do not wish for, where in spite of our good intentions, the natural procedure should not prove possible. [This bit of innuendo, for those unfamiliar with all the events, is a subtle way of Franco telling the Count of Barcelona that the Law of Succession does not preclude rival lines of the dynasty from attaining the throne.]

EDITOR: Can we assure our readers that the Monarchy which may be restored one day, will not change in the least the principles of our National Revolution nor the task undertaken by the Movement and its auxiliary groupings in these years?

FRANCO: Absolutely. . . .

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Who Is Being Led to the Slaughter Now?

THE FORGOTTEN man in the Lamb case this week was Edward Lamb. Lawyers for the Federal Communications Commission no longer appear to be seeking to find a tie between Lamb and Communism strong enough to warrant refusing to renew his broadcast licenses; they are engaged now in defending the FCC against charges of coercion of witnesses, the manufacture of testimony, and, although the dread words themselves have not been uttered in the hearing, subornation of perjury.

While You Weren't Looking

Edward Lamb, a pink-faced, balding, middle-aged, one-time labor lawyer of Toledo, has had an astonishing rise on the US financial scene since the depression days when he won for labor the first portal-to-portal pay case. Today, he is the owner of a newspaper, the *Erie Dispatch*, a group of radio and television stations and assorted industrial enterprises. It has been estimated that he is now worth in the neighborhood of $30 million.

Despite all of these evidences of his energetic private enterprise, for the past few years there have been rumors of former connections between Lamb and Communism. There is good reason to believe that at least some of these rumors were planted by Lamb's business competitors. At any rate, they came to the attention of the FCC during the period when friends of Senator McCarthy had obtained a firm foothold in that agency. The FCC finally threatened not to renew the license of one of the Lamb radio stations. If it succeeded in one case, it would follow that none of his licenses would have been renewed, thus forcing the distress sale of properties now worth millions.

For many months Lamb sought to obtain from the FCC the names of his accusers. He failed. In newspaper advertisements he offered $10,000 to anyone who could come forward with proof that he had been a Communist. There were no takers. Finally, at the urging of former Attorney-General Howard McGrath, now an associate of Lamb, the Senate Commerce Committee, then under Republican control, ordered the FCC to hold open hearings on the charges against Lamb. Those hearings are now in progress. They are notable for several reasons.

One of these is that these hearings have not been held either by the right of Lamb or by the grace of the FCC, but under the compulsion of the Senate. If Lamb had not been a rich man with powerful friends, it is very likely that they would never have been held and Lamb would have lost his licenses without ever knowing who his detractors were.

Another curious fact is that none of the testimony of witnesses in the current hearings appears to have been available to the FCC at the time it first made formal charges against Lamb early in 1954. In other words, the FCC, from all that appears on the record of these hearings, hurriedly dredged up its witnesses *after* the Senate Committee in late June ordered the hearings. And, since FCC lawyers have tried so hard to convict Lamb of the charges, it is unlikely that it has not presented all the testimony which it was possible for the government to obtain.

The hearings dragged on for more than 30 days last fall. The FCC's principal lawyer, Walter R. Powell Jr., put on the stand a series of often dubious witnesses. Among the more important witnesses for the FCC was Mrs. Marie Natvig, since her testimony went further than that of others in connecting Lamb with Communism, and Lowell Watson, former Communist and now one of the Department of Justice's frequent witnesses, since he seemed, on the face of it, to be more believable than the others.

Last week when the hearings reopened, Mrs. Natvig, who once, under the pressure of cross-examination, had almost thrown a heavy metal water pitcher at one of Lamb's lawyers, had testified that much of her former testimony was false and that "anyone would have been crazy" to believe it. She testified that she had been coerced by Powell into making false statements. The FCC's case against Lamb promptly went out the window and its fat went as promptly into the fire even though Examiner Herbert Sharfman characterized Mrs. Natvig's testimony as "incredible" and said that he could draw no conclusions from it. Specifically, he declared that he would make no finding that Powell had been guilty of coercion.

But when witness Mrs. Natvig left the stand, up stood the burly Mr. Watson. Examiner Sharfman promptly declared that he had been impressed by Watson's previous testimony. Then Watson, too, testified that he had testified falsely as to "material matters" and had been led to do so by the "constant and consistent coaching, conditioning and misleading conversation" on the part of Powell and others. Thus, after all, he seemed to make the second testimony of Mrs. Natvig somewhat more credible. And by this time, Examiner Sharfman was beginning to look unhappy and the FCC lawyers, without Powell, who had resigned prior to the resumption of the hearing, were pale.

Watson not only denied crucial parts of his previous words on the stand, but, if his new testimony is to be believed, there are strong indications that at least two other FCC witnesses committed perjury and that in one of these cases at least one of the FCC employees sitting at the counsel table at the time knew the testimony to be untrue. The case against Edward Lamb suddenly had become the case against the Federal Communications Commission.

Unhappily, President Eisenhower's nominee for Chairman of the FCC, George C. McConnaughey, who has been Acting Chairman for much of the period in which the Lamb case has been underway, this week faces the Senate Commerce Committee which will be examining the matter of his confirmation. As one Senator put it, "The FCC is a sick agency. I want to know whether George McConnaughey is going to make it sicker or help it get well".

If the Lamb case is making the FCC uneasy, it is also putting a good many citizens in the same condition. Since it is in many respects like the thousands of loyalty hearings undertaken in the government, this look at the Lamb case is making people wonder what would have happened in many of the other loyalty cases in which there is *no* confrontation by witnesses, *no* clarifying light of publicity, frequently no lawyers, and rarely the financial resources to make a fight possible.

CHARLES ALLDREDGE

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TWO REPORTS ON

France and Frenchmen

Saigon: Intrigue

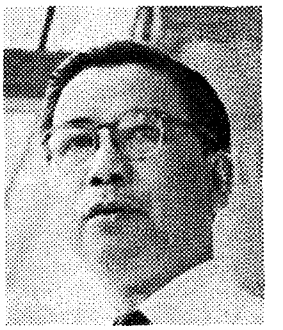
AFTER the victory of the Communists at Dien Bien Phu, in April, 1954, the fighting power of the French in Indo-China was broken. Only a quick armistice could prevent a complete collapse of their armies. This was the military background of the Geneva agreement. But by agreeing to elections in Indo-China which the Communists *must* win even if the South should vote 100 percent against the Viet-Minh (simply because the North has a larger population), France also tacitly agreed to give up the whole of Viet-Nam. The decision to divide the country for two years enabled France only to save face—not to save the South.

In his *New York Times* dispatch of January 22, Cyrus Sulzberger noted that Paris has secretly concluded an agreement with Ho Chi Minh's government, "rendering the equivalent of recognition." Authoritative French voices now confirm the fact that France has given up Indo-China and is now working for an agreement with the Communists. One of these is Socialist Christian Pineau, once head of a commission of the French Chamber of Deputies sent to investigate the situation in Indo-China, and now Premier designate. Pineau frankly defends the policy of sacrificing South Viet-Nam. After first explaining why the Geneva agreement assures a Communist election victory, he nevertheless demands that France abstain from seeking guarantees for free elections such as the West has demanded in the case of Korea. If we insist on any conditions for the elections, M. Pineau argues, Ho Chi Minh will say that we have broken the Geneva agreement and he will probably attack the South. And, if the Communists resume the war, France's departure from Indo-China will take place under catastrophic conditions.

M. Pineau explains very clearly why French support of the Saigon government *to a certain degree* does not exclude sacrificing this government *at a certain moment*. He chides Viet-Namese leaders in the South and asks them to stop their personal quarrels, and to go to work so that there will be a "local success in the elections"—not in order to save the South from Communism, but because this "could perhaps help to find an acceptable solution for the unification of the country." Not a word is wasted on those who will surely lose their lives if they comply with M. Pineau's request.

Once it is understood that the French, after their military defeat, no longer feel able to hold Indo-China, it is easier to understand why they are interested mainly in saving their army and their possessions (General Ely promised the French in Indo-China last December "that everybody will be protected, his property and his person; the French Army is here, above all, for this purpose"); they are working for an agreement with the Communists in order to continue to do business with their former colony as long as possible—even if it means doing business with Communism. "It is the objective of the French to maintain themselves both in the North and in the South of Viet-Nam," said M. Guy La Chambre, the Minister in charge of Indo-Chinese affairs.

These French voices also explain what Americans, including most of our correspondents in Saigon, did not want to believe—that the French have not only predicted the early collapse of the government in Saigon but have done everything in their power to make their prediction come true. "Ever since the military collapse of Tongking," says the *London Economist* of January 8, 1955, "the French have in fact been ready to write off the Saigon government, and particularly since it has been led by a strong anti-French Prime Minister." The French have tried to get rid of Premier Ngo Dinh Diem because they cannot use him for their policy of appeasement. They are ready with a candidate for the Premiership of the South Viet-Nam government—Prince Buu Hoi—who is tailor-made for this task. They have not, however, succeeded in ousting Diem. On the contrary, with the removal of France's man General Hinh as the head of the Viet-Namese army, Premier Diem has inflicted a severe defeat on the French.



Premier Diem

Evidence of French attempts to undermine the Diem government is contained in an article in the French *Journal du Parlement* entitled "How Indo-China Jeopardizes French-American Solidarity." There, a M. Alfred Silbert attacks French hostility toward the government of Premier Diem, complaining bitterly at the same time about the friendliness shown by France to the Viet-Minh. Ho Chi Minh's efforts to make France abandon South Viet-Nam, says Mr. Silbert, are supported by those French elements who are primarily interested in "saving their economic possessions in the North." The "weak-

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ness" of Premier Diem's government must be blamed on "French negligence" and on "French intrigues."

It was Ho Chi Minh's Foreign Minister, Pham Van Dong, who expressed the matter most clearly at the turn of the year by warning the French not to support the government of the South: "France must choose between Washington and Hanoi."

But the United States too must choose. US support for South Viet-Nam will never become effective if we are afraid to oppose the Colonial policy of the French. We must choose between Paris and Saigon.

JOSEPH BUTTINGER

Mr. Buttinger recently returned after two months in South Viet-Nam.

Paris: The "Revolution"

THE RISE in France of a brassy-mouthed demagogue named Pierre Poujade who preaches a pinched and narrow conservatism and calls it revolution throws light on some of the murky recesses of the Byzantine-Baroque maneuverings which in France go by the name of democratic politics. About a year and a half ago Poujade, the owner of a small stationery store in a small town in southwestern France, refused to let tax officials see his books and got other storekeepers in the region to follow his example. That was the beginning of the Poujade movement—the UDCA, the Union for the Defense of Small Businessmen and Artisans—which now claims hundreds of thousands of followers.

With a national election due early next year, the movement and its vote-getting blackmail power are both growing steadily. It's scarcely an exaggeration to say that the fate of Western European Union and even the role of France in the Atlantic Alliance may be affected.

The professed main goal of the movement is to change the tax system whereby the authorities have the right to check up on tax declarations and to punish severely tax evaders and falsifiers. Other goals are a minimum tax-free allowance on income up to about $1,000 a year; abolition of retail sales and profits taxes; and limitation of the social security and insurance system to "those who really need it."

But in reality, the movement has many of the characteristics of nascent Fascism. It is against parliament, against intellectuals, against foreigners, against Jews, against plutocrats, against those who are against excessive production and use of alcohol. It attracts malcontents whose gripes have little to do with taxes and practically all who oppose—for fear of the effect upon them—the modernization which men like Pierre Mendès-France consider necessary.

In January, Poujade held a mass meeting at the exhibition park in Paris. Despite obstacles put in their way by the government between 50,000 and 100,000 came from the provinces to hear Poujade. In February another meeting at the Velodrome d'Hiver in Paris brought out almost as many from the Parisian region. And before these "invasions of the enemy's capital" the "leader" had covered nearly 100,000 miles, speaking at more than 500 local meetings.

Poujade, 33 years old, with a loud, ringing voice, speaks for hours without seeming to draw his breath—or even to suggest the elements of an affirmative program. He attacks—and the crowds scream their approval; men howl in the best Nuremberg-rally manner; women weep and throw kisses.

The movement claims up to three quarters of a million members. It publishes a newspaper with a circulation of 400,000 and puts out large numbers of leaflets and pamphlets. About 2,000 of its officials, organized in cells of 10 in the Communist manner, act as an espionage service, tipping off storekeepers on forthcoming visits of tax collectors. Advice is given on how to get around taxes or to sabotage them. Help is given to tax resisters. At Melun, for example, 300 Poujade crusaders surrounded a store, preventing the tax officials from entering it. At Villeparisis, the Poujaders bought the furniture and supplies of a store to be confiscated for tax default, and gave them back, free, to the owner. At Montpellier 5,000 Poujaders gathered from distant regions to protect a florist from the tax inspectors. The rallying call had been sent out by the local committee of "militants"—these exist in most departments by now.

But the geographical heart of the Poujade country is the South and Center of France. These are among the most backward regions; they are also—which is typical of other early Fascist movements—areas of Left domination. The trouble is, of course, the proliferation of uneconomic small businesses.

THE government has in fact provided some help for the little fellows. But the growth of big business inevitably hurts the marginal small businesses, especially in the backward regions. And any sensible economic reform in France, whether from the Left or from the Right, cannot dodge the problem of reconversion from the methods and standards of a bygone past to those of modern conditions.

The fact that the Poujade movement of defense of the small retail storekeepers makes no economic sense is less important than that it attracts allies in such quarters as the Association of Small and Medium Manufacturers, the National Confederation of Beet Growers, and other agricultural organizations. It becomes thereby the core of resistance to any kind of New Deal and, as such in domestic, economic matters, the supporter of pinched and narrow isolationism in foreign policies.

Paris FRANK GORRELL

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The Morality of Self-Respect

by Brand Blanshard

THE British psychologist Margaret Knight has recently given a series of talks on the BBC that have excited much discussion. Their theme was "Morals Without Religion." The same theme has lately been discussed by Julian Huxley in a coast-to-coast series of lectures in America. Both have been taking the view that morality is distinct from the acceptance of any kind of dogma, that it is quite capable of standing on its own feet, and that current attempts to bolster it up and further the fight against Communism by a return to orthodoxy are really attempts "to drive out a new myth by reviving an old one." It is this issue I want to discuss.

On our own radio and television we hear only one side of this issue, and it is not very persuasively put. When I am dressing on Sunday mornings, I occasionally switch on my radio or TV with curious results. First comes a Dr. Thomas Wyatt who speaks from the Wings of Healing Temple in Portland, Oregon, over "nearly a thousand radio stations." In a voice breaking with emotion, he announces the approaching end of the world. Only by accepting his brand of fundamentalism, he urges, can we circumvent the wiles of Satan; and he deepens the sense of impending doom by pointing to the gentlemen in the Kremlin as Satan's chosen lieutenants. Shortly afterward come "Frank and Ernest," who supply a weekly dialogue of Biblical interpretation. They hunt for clues to our present duty and future destiny among the dark sayings of Daniel, Micah, and the Book of Revelations. Then on a somewhat higher level comes the program of the Catholic Christophers who invite Rosalind Russell to read the Psalms with comment and William Bendix to explain how much Lincoln owed to his religious creed.

Now it seems to me that part of what these people are saying should be cordially admitted. Men who take their religion seriously do have a sanction for practical goodness that other men lack. To believe, not perfunctorily but fervidly, that the power that orders nature and history is on one's side, viewing with intense concern one's little struggles and triumphs, ready always to help and direct, eager to welcome one home at the journey's end with garlands and unending glory—to accept all this with heart as well as head gives a powerful lift to the spirit. The skeptic may protest that such a result is illogical, that if there is really a divinity shaping our ends, we may as well take a moral holiday, since things will come out right in the end in any case. But that is not the way religious conviction most commonly works. Its usual results, I think, are two: it invests duty with a high seriousness by making it the will of God, and it tinges with hope and confidence the mood in which life is lived. The two support each other. The duty is made less heavy by the hopeful mood; the mood is prevented from degenerating into slackness by the seriousness of the duty.

Let us grant, then, that the man with religious belief starts with an advantage in fighting the good fight. Does it follow that without such belief morality cannot stand by itself? To say this is to make two large assumptions: first that our moral standards are so connected logically with our religious beliefs that if the beliefs were to go, the standards too must lose their validity; and secondly, that whether there is any logical connection or not, the loss of belief does lead to loss of standards in actual practice. Are these assumptions true?

AS TO the first, our comment may be brief and sharp, for the issue is one of principle which has long ago been settled. Ethics is *not* the handmaiden of theology. Beliefs about right and wrong may be held with equal clearness, firmness and validity by people of any religion or of none. When men call conduct right, they do not *mean* that it is the will of God, for in that case those of them who were without theological belief would be saying nothing at all, and they clearly do mean something. Nor can we hold that conduct is right *because* God wills it. For then we could no longer say that He willed it because it was right, and strictly speaking His will would be arbitrary; if it had favored cruelty and injustice, this alone would have made them right. But that implies that there is nothing in cruelty as such that is wrong, nor in suffering that is evil; they are so only because a powerful being has taken a stand against them. And this is plainly not true. It is not true because we can see for ourselves that cruelty is wrong and suffering intrinsically evil, whether there is a Deity who decrees them to be so or not.

But what about the second assumption? We have seen that religious belief does give practical support to morals, and many would hold this support so essential that if it were withdrawn, our moral standards would collapse. Indeed most of us have been brought up to think that religion and goodness are so bound up with each other as to be almost the same thing; the teaching we have in Sunday schools, the sermons we hear in our churches, the Sermon on the Mount itself, draw no line

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between them. There have been eminent moralists like Sidgwick, who after losing their own religious belief, were reluctant to criticize the belief of others because they thought that, even though false, it was so powerful an aid to goodness. More recently the British philosoper C. E. M. Joad raised the question: "Is it wise to continue to erode the foundations in history and metaphysics upon which the Christian faith is based? If we can't accept them ourselves, may it not, nevertheless, be well that we should at least pretend, remembering in our emergency Plato's hint about the social beneficence of the useful lie?" And have not Bishop Sheen and his colleagues warned us that the issue before us is Catholicism or moral materialism?

YET this is an odd conclusion if what we have just said about the first assumption is true. Justice is right and reasonable, whether tied to theology or not, but in order to get ourselves to do it, we must somehow embrace the delusion that it is so tied. Cruelty is wicked; we can see that plainly; but we shall fall into it without doubt unless our resistance is bolstered by dogmas that we can see, if we think, to be irrelevant. Such a view is too cynical about our power to act sensibly, too skeptical about the pull on our minds of what we see to be right and reasonable, for anyone who retains some faith in his species. Of course if one has been brought up in the faith of Kierkegaard that we are all hopelessly vile by nature, such theology is the sole way out. That eminent theologian, Whittaker Chambers, puts this case with force: "Man without God is a beast."

But I submit that the facts are against it.

What is really important in getting men to follow a way of life is not a theological view of the world, but something less dramatic. It is simply the linking of that way of life to their sense of honor and self-respect. If one's self-respect is not bound up with a certain practice, theology will all too probably be a broken reed; if one's self-respect is behind it, theology will prove unnecessary.

We are suffering from a rash of juvenile delinquency. Bishop Sheen and Dr. Wyatt produce their standard remedy of "a return to God." I have admitted that there are factors of some potency in this prescription: what I deny is that we must swallow that prescription whole as the price of cure. The trouble with American youth is not that their minds are inadequately stored with archaic theological lumber; it is something simpler and much nearer home. It is that they are admiring the wrong things. The image of themselves that many of them carry in the back of their heads is that of a square-jawed toughie who is not taking anything from anybody; their sense of honor approves what falls within this moronic Hollywoodish pattern and fails to register when it comes to the charities and chivalries of kindly living.

The only effective way to change such habits is to change what young people admire and therefore demand of themselves. Some agencies like the Boy Scouts are already proceeding on that principle with excellent results. That thoughtful psychiatrist Dr. Crichton-Miller admits that "it is much simpler to generate fear and hope based upon dogma than to infect the young with the love of integrity" but he is clear that in the latter lies the only hope. And "the best of all methods is personification—hero-worship in some form or other. It may be a parent or parent-substitute, such as a teacher or a youth-leader. It may be based on a father complex, though it need not be so. What matters is the essential inspiration of an adult who . . . infects the child or the adolescent with the love of integrity. . . ."

This makes sense to me. And it is a kind of sense that suits our time and place. Americans, as foreigners often tell us, are a highly suggestible people, whose impulse to conform is strong; and among our youth the trend to conformity seems stronger today than ever. This trend of course has its dangers. But it has its happy side too, namely that our youth are more than ever ready to conform to anything worth conforming to. What above all puts power into ideals, what sets the drive wheels of the moral engine securely in motion, is not a schedule of dogmas about first and last things, but the picture in one's mind of something one has to be if one is to keep one's self-respect. Self-respect is the most powerful of motives, for it is what no one can afford to lose; we try to be what we really admire because if we do not, we despise ourselves. There is a famous trinity of Christian virtues — faith, hope and love. Wordsworth in a moment of insight, suggested a daring emendation: "We live by admiration, hope and love." Indeed the efficacy of Christianity itself has been largely in the admiration evoked for its own central figure.

IN MY opinion, the most useful ideal to fall in love with is the ancient and austere one of reasonableness. The love of reasonableness is a little like that habit which James thought the best of all habits, the habit of breaking habits; it can leave untouched what is sound in conduct and yet provide a critique of old habits and a growing-point for new. And over and over again in the past it has proved able, without any theological backing whatever, to hold men to the road, even to hold them to the hard virtues of justice, consideration and unselfishness. The psychologist Wilfred Trotter was right in saying, "if rationality were once to become really respectable; if we feared the entertaining of an unverifiable opinion with the warmth with which we now fear using the wrong implement at the dinner table; if the thought of holding a prejudice disgusted us as does a foul disease, then the dangers of man's suggestibility would be turned into an advantage." This is shooting high. But the assumption behind Trotter's words, that the way to a better life is its incorporation with one's self-respect, is surely true. And that is more than can be said for the assumptions of Dr. Wyatt and Bishop Sheen.

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THE EISENHOWER PROGRAM

The Tyranny of Labels

by Max Seham

PRESIDENT EISENHOWER, in his 1955 Health Message to the Congress, has placed major emphasis on the renewal of a proposal rejected by the 83rd Congress last year—a limited reinsurance plan. This plan, in the President's view, "is the only logical alternative to socialized medicine." He counts on it to solve the problem of the continually rising costs of medical care, by extending health insurance to farm families, providing more protection against the costs of prolonged illness, and insuring low-income families against doctor bills as well as hospital bills.

Briefly, the Eisenhower reinsurance scheme would set up a $25 million governmental fund to "stimulate" insurance companies into offering better health coverage by providing for "broad sharing among health insurance organizations of risks of experimentation."

The fund would pay 75 percent of a private company's losses in any one year, if according to designated yardsticks such losses were unavoidable. The theory is that with this federal guarantee behind them, insurance companies will take the risk of giving better coverage to the 100 million present holders of bona-fide voluntary insurance; and that they would be encouraged to enroll a large segment of the 63 million people who now have no health insurance at all.

But the Administration-sponsored Health Bill of 1955 does nothing to require significantly more comprehensive benefits from insurance companies. In fact, the bill's suggested "model" plan for lower-income families would leave the insured to pay such an appreciably large and unpredictable portion of his medical bills that it is difficult to see how a low-income man could find such a policy attractive and, hence, why any insurance company would want to bother about it.

What is badly needed if health standards in the US are to be raised is: lowering of premiums for low-income groups, and lowering the cost of enrolling rural groups and self-employed persons. The reinsurance plan does nothing in the direction of cutting the high cost (reflected in premiums) of enrollment. And it cannot of itself improve benefits without increasing the costs which essentially determine premiums. The reinsurance plan cannot, in effect, lower the cost of health insurance. All it encourages is experimentation with different *arrangements* of benefits—which needs no encouragement at all.

By placing the health of the people in the hands of the commercial insurance companies, the Administration's plan does not provide for social health insurance in any accepted meaning of the term. Premiums still would be too high for those who need protection most.

WHEN the President's plan went to Congress last year, the odds were in its favor. American Medical Association leaders before they analyzed the bill, were elated by the President's assurance that it would "forever lay the ghost of compulsory health insurance." They were so sure of the New Look that they even dropped their multi-million-dollar "national education campaign against progressive health legislation."

Insurance company representatives were invited to the White House and handed the program with luncheon. New and Fair Dealers in the House and Senate offered no active opposition. The House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce reported the bill with no important changes. The House Rules Committee approved it unanimously. Then came a stunning bipartisan defeat: 238 to 134, 75 Republicans joining 163 Democrats to kill it.

Why was this pet Administration project—which denied the label of subsidy, claimed to embody the principle of self-help, and placated an economy-minded Congress—so decisively defeated? It now seems clear that Eisenhower was hit from four sides—by the commercial insurance companies, by the AMA, by the Democrats and by the spokesmen for the public. The plan satisfied no one.

The insurance companies rejected the plan because, as they put it, the impaired health of a large minority of the population made it unprofitable to insure these people: "To attempt to insure the indigent would impair if not eventually destroy voluntary insurance." They also said, with more candor than the Administration could muster, that the federal reinsurance fund would bring government into direct competition with private business. They disagreed with Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, Oveta Culp Hobby's assertion that the plan would reduce the cost of health insurance, and make it available to groups or areas not now within the reach of insurers. They concluded that they saw "no need for such a plan at the present time." They declared their

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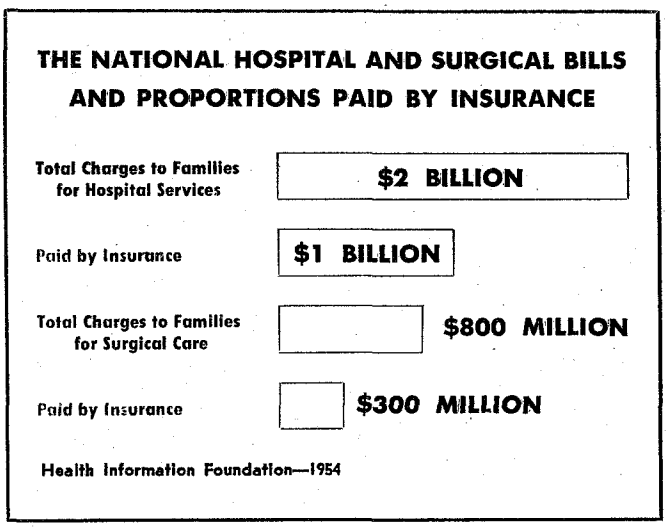
THE NATIONAL HOSPITAL AND SURGICAL BILLS AND PROPORTIONS PAID BY INSURANCE
Total Charges to Families for Hospital Services
$2 BILLION
Paid by Insurance
$1 BILLION
Total Charges to Families for Surgical Care
$800 MILLION
Paid by Insurance
$300 MILLION
Health Information Foundation—1954

confidence in this Administration, but they feared the plan might become "more socialized" under another administration. The AMA, which deserves most credit for defeat of the bill, gave practically the same arguments, stressing the danger of government interference and calling the plan "an entering wedge toward state medicine." So much for the Administration's private enterprise allies.

On the other side of the fence, members of both houses also spoke their opposition, but for entirely different reasons. Sam Rayburn called the bill a "blundering stupid way to start a health program." Sen. James Murray, (D, Mont.) thought it was "puny, paltry and paramecium-like." Representatives of organized labor, farmers and white collar workers joined against the bill. People from both urban centers and neglected rural areas told tragic stories of their's and neighbor's experiences with disease that is allied to poverty. Negroes related incidents of discrimination which cut them off from hospital care. The testimony added up to a demand for nothing less than early and continuous, preventive, diagnostic and curative care for the entire family.

This year's plan has been completely rewritten in an attempt to meet some of the criticism leveled against it last year; but the changes are superficial; it is the same plan.

Studying the President's message, I find myself confused by his semantics. He seems to be speaking with two voices. As chief spokesman for the New Look he repeatedly insists that he is "flatly opposed to socialized medicine and will continue to reject it." As Chief Executive of our country he urges Congress to enact into law a health program supported by federal tax funds. Nowhere has he defined what he means by "socialized medicine." Does he have in mind a pure State Medicine system like that in Russia, with the State in complete control of the entire medical system? Does he agree with those who label President Truman's compulsory (contributory) pre-payment plan, Kremlin directed? The cold war over "socialized medicine" has created a Babel of language. Whether on the floor of Congress or in Town Hall debates, it has become a popular sport for opponents of social progress to call anyone who proposes national health legislation a Socialist. Reforms in health legislation have too long been retarded or defeated, not because the programs were impractical or revolutionary, but because the tyranny of labels has frightened legislators from backing health measures.

Whether we recognize it or not, the American medical system today is a mixture of what may be called limited State Medicine—socialization through government financing and/or control—and private practice. Of total 1954 medical expenditures amounting to $14 billion, federal tax funds supplied some $4.5 billion. And the programs this federal money is spent on all are continued in Eisenhower's plan: vocational rehabilitation; hospital, nursing-home, and convalescent-home construction; Public Assistance Grants; Public Health services; research on air and water pollution; mental illness control; medical research; and medical care for the 500,000 Indians in America. These matters, he has even said, require "boldness and imagination" (qualities conspicuously absent from his recommendations) and a little more money. Our system could not function without such a partnership.

Unless we get rid of the phrase "socialized medicine" or agree upon an exact meaning for it, there will never be a meeting of the minds. Precise and meaningful adjectives like compulsory, or contributory, government, tax-supported, grants-in-aid, etc., might help. The test after all is not whether a health program is private or public, federal, state or local, but whether it is a sound, practical, democratic way to do the job.

Like the President's semantic confusion about "socialized medicine" is that about another abused term—subsidy. Why does Eisenhower deny so vehemently that his reinsurance plan is a subsidy? Are all subsidies pure socialism? And what about the subsidies for farmers and banks and airlines, etc.?

Yet despite the confusion there is reason to think that the 20-year Cold War in medical economics may reach a decisive stage in the 84th Congress this year.

FOR MANY years the American people, confused by political propaganda, frightened by the bogy of "socialized medicine," were complacent and indifferent to their best health interests. But through first-hand, cumulative experience with the financial hazards of illness, they have become aware of the pressing needs for better financial protection and more equitable distribution of medical services. The present system of private practice plus the limited benefits offered by commercial and Medical-Society prepayment plans are but a stop-gap for millions of people who suffer preventable sickness and die prematurely because they do not have the dollars to buy the miracles of modern medicine, surgery and hospitalization.

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GERALD W. JOHNSON

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The Superficial Aspect

SUPERFICIALLY at least President Eisenhower has been doing well since the first of the year. Superficially, in fact, he has been doing better than he ever did before. When he appealed to Congress in the Formosan affair he got the most resounding vote of confidence he has ever been given. True, all he asked of Congress was permission to do what any President of the United States has authority to do, namely, to defend territory subject to the jurisdiction of the United States; but he was given that permission with a heartiness that would never suggest that Congress is in control of the opposition.

Eisenhower is in the happy position of having in opposition a party committed to the theory that the President is and of right ought to be the head of the state, whose leadership is to be accepted except when it takes a direction plainly contrary to the best interest of the state. In the matter of Formosa, while some people continue to harbor doubts, it was not plain that the President was acting contrary to the national interest; therefore he received the all but unanimous support of the Democrats.

This has thrown the professional politicians of both parties into a dither. They feel that if this sort of thing continues party lines will be blurred to the point of erasure by 1956, and if that occurs what excuse will remain for the existence of a professional politician? It is a hard question, to which there is no immediately apparent answer; and the worst of it is that the independent voter is not much interested in finding an answer. If the present system, that is, with the White House in the hands of one party and Congress in the hands of the other, continues to work well the next election will be thrown into such chaos as a professional politician shudders to contemplate.

Perhaps this perturbation is justified, but the uninstructed layman would guess that it is not, simply because the chance that the system will work well seems remote. In the matter of Formosa Mr. Eisenhower did step out in front and lead, which accords with the Democratic idea of what a President should do. In the matter of the reciprocal trade treaties Mr. Eisenhower is supporting one item that belongs not only to a bipartisan foreign, but also to a Democratic domestic policy. If he should continue along this line there is, indeed, no logical reason why Democrats should oppose him next year; but he would certainly be opposed by diehard Republicans. In fact, they are opposing him now.

The test will come when the President brings before Congress proposals for legislation that is neither bipartisan nor Democratic. Then the fact that he is leading will not compensate for the fact that he is leading in what the Democrats consider the wrong direction, so they will vote in opposition; and if the President can then rally a solid Republican Party behind him, superficial observers will be astonished. He has never done it so far.

The prompt and strong support that the President received on the matter of Formosa enheartened him, without a doubt, but at the same time it was well designed to cause him a certain secret chagrin. It reinforces the dreadful suspicion that in 1952 he ran on the wrong ticket.

This may have something to do with the recurrent reports that Eisenhower is getting what reporters have called "the Gettysburg look" in his eye. That is to say, he is looking toward his farm at Gettysburg with increasing appreciation of its value as a sanctuary, and looking with increasing distaste on the prospect of another term.

It is generally admitted that Eisenhower is not consumed with any lust for office and could walk out of the White House with few regrets; but this has usually been attributed to the burdens of the Presidency, plus a natural distaste for the spiteful attacks that have been made upon him.

BUT THERE may be another reason. If he is beginning to realize that his ideals of good government are shared by more members of the opposition than of his own party, his position must be profoundly embarrassing. The emergence from the abyss of obscurity of Governor Lee, of Utah, has certainly created in some minds the impression that here is the real representative of the modern Republican Party, the whole-hearted champion of reaction and obscurantism. It is not impossible that Eisenhower's is one of those minds.

It would be something new for a President to withdraw because after election he found himself in the right church but the wrong pew; but it is not, in Sir Thomas Browne's words, "beyond all conjecture."

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BOOKS & COMMENT

The Bigger Heart of D. H. Lawrence

by Frieda Lawrence Ravagli

EVER since I met Harry T. Moore, some time after my husband's death, he has been eager to write about Lawrence. All through these years with endless patience he has gone into the highways and byways to trace Lawrence's footprints, step by step. In previous books he connected Lawrence's work with its time and place, a labor of love and admiration indeed. But *The Intelligent Heart* reads almost like fiction, and a great deal is fiction to me.

Lawrence and I lived often for weeks and months in peace in the midst of a terrific turmoil and gossip that we were not aware of. So much spite against two unpretentious people who lived as simply as we did. But somehow it did not matter much; we went on our way in our world. A man's new ideas are not so easy to grasp right away and it makes people hostile. There were a few like Aldous and Maria Huxley who patiently listened.

The Intelligent Heart, by Harry T. Moore (Farrar, Straus and Young; $6.50).

We are too near still to Lawrence to get a bird's eye-view of him and his ultimate significance. The era that he was born into put a great stress on self-conscious emotions. They loomed so large, out of proportion in the scheme of things, and all the social fixtures seemed firmly fixed for eternity. Lawrence helped to change that.

Now many writers tell not about human, all too human stuff, they are sick of it, but write about animals and plants and places and the sea and the sky and winds and it is a relief. Lawrence looked at the elemental part in human beings to write about. So critics, at the time he wrote, said it was nonsense, that he had no form.

He was a Fascist, he was a Communist, he was pro-German, he was sex obsessed, and all he was, was simply pro-human. Sex is such a weary word. It could mean divine urge or a nasty story, but the nasty story always gets a larger audience.

When Lawrence and I first stayed at the ugly place he was born in, I had to think of his rather frail mother, working so very hard to keep the seven people she was responsible for fed and clean and not let them go under into sordidness. I remembered how a five-cent small bunch of pansies could give her such pleasure. She was a good mother. She trained all her children to be tidy and clean and gave them standards to live by. This sounds trivial but is important for all that. But at the same time from people on the streets and busses of this mining town a strange power emanated. When you thought of the dead elegance of Lady X and the immaculate presence of the Duke of S, how much more alive these men and women on the street were!

As for the Oedipus complex, it is not an absolute written in words of fire over all time. It was a bitter idea against the power of nature and women. This unnatural desire may occur, but it is not the norm. Whether young bulls have it, I do not know, but doubt it. When you consider that in Russia the State is your mother and your whole family, then I prefer the unlikely possibility of an Oedipus complex. Lawrence and Freud and others brought the problem of sex out into the open air and sunshine where it can flourish naturally and sanely. It does not have to hide in dark corners of shame and tragedy any more.

I HAD a great friend, a young Austrian doctor who had been a pupil of Freud's and had worked with him. Consequently he had been fundamentally influenced by Freud, and through him I was much impressed too. So Lawrence through this friend and me had an almost direct contact with these then new ideas.

He got most of his ideas in this living way, never so much from books, but mostly he used himself as his own guinea pig. That is why I don't believe the story of the mystery woman who says she "gave Lawrence sex."

Lawrence was a fastidious and sensitive man, who would not go like a lamb to the slaughter with a woman who expressed herself so unfortunately. We would have heard from him about this strange and unlikely episode, mentioned in *The Intelligent Heart.*

Lawrence believed in his destiny, and his destiny included me as his wife.

I believed in his power; what he had to say he would say at any price and the price was high. If he had married another woman his work and his life would have been different. Lawrence's genius, and nobody denies his genius, had so many angles. If there is a Lord who created our universe, He did not do it only by laws and rules. Such prodigal imagination and fantasy went into this overwhelming achievement that is our globe. To Lawrence his surroundings were a mystery, a miracle through all his life.

When you think of a whale or a butterfly, of a forget-me-not or an oak tree, it is staggering to think of the endless variety that lives along with us, much too much to take in with one short lifetime.

HE HAD, in his own way, the same uncanny understanding of living creatures as St. Francis of Assisi. When St. Francis says "my little sisters the birds" and preaches to the fishes, he only voices his awareness of them in their loveliness; and when he preaches to the fishes, it is his love for them. St. Francis was a voice against the spiritual conceit of doctrines and human superiority when he put animals on a level with humans. With the accent on spirituality the animal becomes the evil principle. All that is animal must be suppressed, and God help us!

When you think of a bird in flight, handling its wings with such precision and ease, wonderful as an airplane is, the birds win. But we have come a long way from St. Francis and his little sisters the birds. Now we have chickens in cages, that are fed scientifically, and they mechanically just sit and lay eggs. No air, no sun, no scratching in the dirt. Whether they cackle when they lay an egg I don't know, but I doubt it.

Lawrence had some of the awareness of the creatures and vegetation around him as St. Francis had. It is there in his writing. It gave him his special quality

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and made him so alive. It fascinated people and they loved to be with him. But very often they tried to turn this quality into a limited, personal, too personal relationship, and it could by the very nature of it not be personal and they were disappointed and Lawrence was angry and the feathers flew, whole clouds of feathers.

When I read Mr. Moore's book, it seems as if it had all been strife and misery. It was not so. Lawrence could never have done the amazing amount of work in his short lifetime had it been so. There were months of quiet, peaceful living. For instance at the Berkshire cottage, Lawrence would write in the morning, while I fussed around the cottage. After lunch we would go for long walks over the fields and get mushrooms if there were any, and in the Spring through the woods we found clearings where big primroses grew and pools of bluebells. In the Spring we also got baskets full of dandelions and made dandelion wine. Sometimes in the middle of the night the cork of a fermenting dandelion wine bottle would go off with a terrific pop. After our afternoon exploring we came home with our loot, hungry, with muddy boots, changed into slippers and put the kettle on the fire and had tea.

In the cottage next door lived a charming brown-eyed child, Hilda Brown, who would come after school, and we would sing the songs from *The Oxford Songbook*—"All Through the Night," "The Camptown Races," and "My Wife and I Live All Alone." Then after our evening meal Lawrence would write again. I would embroider or mend.

It is still a mystery to me, when I think of our quiet days that flowed along so easily, how it could arouse so much speculation in people and so much spite. It seemed to have so little to do with us and our way of living.

The one time I did not believe in Lawrence's activities (he was very young then) was when he and Bertrand Russell planned to make some reform in English government. I had listened to talk on politics at my uncle Oswald Richthofen's in Berlin, (he was then Minister of Foreign Affairs), and what Lawrence and Bertie discussed did not seem like politics to me.

I thought they were both off their tracks. But being brought up in the European tradition that women don't interfere in men's affairs, I held my tongue. So both being out of their elements, there was the inevitable fiasco and they blamed each other. Lawrence did not mean it when he asked Russell to leave him some money in his will; he knew that Russell wasn't a rich man.

The story of the mayor of Milan who came to breakfast in Taormina, with Lawrence throwing plates at me, made me weep tears of laughter. I had never heard it before! And we were poor and did not have so many plates!

Also *The Intelligent Heart* gives a wrong impression of my father. He did slap his young orderly, but it was no "beating." "The Prussian Officer" is a story of cruelty, and though it existed in some Germans, cruelty is a plant that grows everywhere. My father was a lovely father who wrote poems for me when I was small: how I must have all the virtues of the animals, quick as a bird and gentle as a lamb, and of course busy as a bee "and gay as a Spitz, be my little Fitz," it ended. He must have read Prescott's *Conquest of Mexico* at one time and had such names as "Fitzli-Purzli" for me, and took me to the Officers' swimming establishment and dived into the Moselle with me from the diving board (that taught me to swim), and much to the astonishment of the officers I emerged dressed in my small girl's clothes.

Because Lawrence wrote his books, the young people that read them will not be so mixed up in themselves any more. They will have something to think about and have more fun.

There is Harry T. Moore's Lawrence in *The Intelligent Heart*. But there is a Lawrence that I knew that is not there.

A Conservative's Estimate of FDR

by Arthur Schlesinger Jr.

WHEN J. Brooks B. Parker of Philadelphia died a few years ago, he left in his will a sum of money for a scholarly appraisal of the influence of Franklin D. Roosevelt "upon this Nation and its institutions as a whole, and upon the individual lives of its citizens, be such influence good or be it bad." His executors subsequently selected Professor E. E. Robinson of Stanford, an eminent political scientist of conservative views, to make the study. This book is the result.

The Roosevelt Leadership, 1933-1945, by E. E. Robinson (Lippincott; $5).

It is an odd book. It consists, in the main, of a somewhat routine and superficial history of the Roosevelt administration. Combined with this history are some astute observations on Roosevelt as a personality and as a leader and a series of general reflections on the significance of the New Deal—reflections apparently deriving from a dimly-focussed theory of the proper relationship between the people and the state in a democracy. The various elements do not jell into any very coherent product; and one is puzzled to know who the book was written for and what its readers are likely to make of it.

Since the philosophy, if one may call it that, of Professor Robinson's book is likely to have the main impact, one may as well begin by indicating what the author's presuppositions are. The essential struggle in the 'thirties, as he sees it, was between "the thoughtful, the educated, and the experienced in public affairs," "the very limited group of highly able, highly educated people," on the one hand, and the masses, led by Roosevelt, on the other. The first group, of which Herbert Hoover was the archetype, called for a "scientific approach to the problems of politics"; the second group stood for the assumption that "the *people* were the government." "Here was reflected," observes Professor Robinson, "the basic division between the two great political parties of the American republic—the party of emphasis upon leaders, and the party seeking to enlarge the powers of 'followers'." Unhappily these somewhat cryptic hints are about all Professor Robinson affords us concerning his theory of the "basic division" in American political life. It would be interesting to know, for example, why the party of "emphasis upon leaders" so rarely produced any; or why it was right for citizens to admire experts in government in the 'twenties and wrong for them to do so in the 'thirties.

But, if his fundamental doctrine remains dark and fragmentary, Professor

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Robinson's exposition of the heresies of the 'thirties is straightforward enough. Under Roosevelt's leadership, "the Democratic party had absorbed many radicals —of both Fascist and Communist inclination." Of these radicals, the most pernicious were the "intellectual radicals"—a group evidently to be sharply distinguished from the "thoughtful" and the "highly-educated." These intellectual radicals, "by nature internationalists," many of whom had been to Europe and some of whom favored progressive education, naturally wanted to make America over; and Roosevelt gave them their head. The outcome was the inadvertent commitment of millions of good Americans "to the central point of view of a socialist philosophy." Roosevelt's influence finally resulted "in a weakened Constitutional system, in imperiled national security, in diminished national morale, in deteriorated political morality, and in an overburdened economy." However glittering the promises of the New Deal, the record of these years was "barren of real understanding and accomplishment." Indeed, Soviet Russia is governed by men "who professed the same collectivist objectives as did the Democratic party." "Within the nation in these twelve years," Professor Robinson concludes, "was developed a distrust of the basic democracy of the Republic, as well as a social philosophy that included within its practices, if not in its pronouncements, many of the primary leveling objectives of Communism."

But this was not all Franklin Roosevelt's personal fault—and here Professor Robinson departs from the usual anti-New Deal diatribe. In most of the President's major errors, Professor Robinson repeatedly emphasizes, he enjoyed the enthusiastic support of the majority of the American people. Roosevelt's failure, as a consequence, becomes for Professor Robinson more than a personal failure; it is also the tragedy of the American democracy.

In these terms, despite his profound disapproval of the New Deal, Professor Robinson is able to make a valiant attempt at a fair-minded and objective portrait of Roosevelt himself. Unfortunately this portrait, while restrained and far from hostile or unintelligent, is filled with internal inconsistencies. Thus Roosevelt is described on page 150 as a skilled compromiser, "succeeding in his role as conciliator of the organized units of the American economy"; on page 187, we learn that, on the other hand, he destroyed the idea "that much could be achieved for the people, by the government as umpire, through a careful adjustment of conflicting economic interests"; on page 374, Professor Robinson tells us that "Mr. Roosevelt exercised the powers of a dictator"; later on the same page, he condemns Roosevelt's "practice of habitual compromise."

The historical sections of the book are of little interest. It would appear inconceivable that anyone could write in 1955 about the Roosevelt years without mentioning the name of Lord Keynes or without distinguishing between the economic policies of the first and second terms, but Professor Robinson, who seems bored by economics, has done just this. As a loyal Stanford man, Professor Robinson must no doubt insist that Roosevelt erred in not accepting the "co-operation" offered by Hoover in the interval between the election in 1932 and the inauguration in 1933. Yet he ignores Hoover's own private statement at the time:

> I realize that if these declarations be made by the President-elect, he will have ratified the whole major program of the Republican Administration; that is, it means the abandonment of 90 percent of the so-called New Deal . . .

a statement which surely exposes Hoover's pattern of "co-operation" as political cynicism of a high order. When Professor Robinson suggests that there has never been in American history "a clearer example of unfair campaigning than that of Mr. Roosevelt in 1936," one wonders whether he would favor, as a fitting counterpart to the two-term amendment, a new amendment by which the number of states any candidate has a right to carry should be limited to, say, thirty-six. I can only quote one more example, somewhat on the humorless side—Professor Robinson's view of the speech to the Teamsters in 1944:

> Only a people blinded by twelve years of propaganda and absorbed in the winning of a war of survival could overlook the blatancy of the appeal in that address.

In sum, this is indeed an odd book. The historian will learn little from it. The biographer of Roosevelt will gain a few shrewd and astringent insights. What the lay reader will make of it will provide an illuminating test of the current temper of opinion toward Franklin Roosevelt and his New Deal.

Labor and Politics in France

by Victor G. Reuther

ANDRE MALRAUX, interviewed recently in Paris, measured the situation in France today by observing that Holland built more workers' homes last year than France, that the French Army was hardly the equal of the Yugoslav, and that French finances in the world stand far below that of the Swiss.

The French Labor Movement, by Val R. Lorwin (Harvard; $6).

Val Lorwin's carefully compiled account of the French labor movement from its beginnings as secret societies of wandering bachelor journeymen in the fifteenth century down to its present schizophrenic paralysis, is in a sense an observation, like Malraux's, on the shabby, worn, down-at-the-heels remnants of a brilliant past.

In France today there is a syndicate with effective representation protecting the powerfully institutionalized interest of every economic activity in the country, except those of wage-earners. Wine-growers, bar-owners, beet sugar producers, landlords, hotel operators, restaurant owners, *petits commerçants* serving every possible need, American businessmen, manufacturers, bankers, money-lenders; all of these have effective power in that any of them can gimmick a law that attempts to reduce their privileges or increase their burdens.

The burdens and charges, however, which are declined and passed, must come to a rest somewhere, and in France today they end finally, on the backs of the country's wage-earners.

Housing is an impossible pressure on a worker in France. Wherever you go in a working class district you find three generations of families in an ancient

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damp accommodation that was hardly suitable for one family when it was built a hundred years ago. With prices equal to or higher than most in the US, wages are a fifth or sixth of those in American cities.

In assessing what fails in France, inevitably analysts come around to the manifestations of failure. They say, if the standard of living of the working class were as high as the resources of the country permit, there would be impetus that would set an effective economy in motion. This would end the political and social stalemate that has turned recent European history into a Parisian traffic jam.

From there the argument continues around a circle. Workers are trapped in misery because their unions are inefficient. The unions are inefficient because the labor movement is split into a Communist majority and a divided minority, the non-sectarian *Force Ouvriére* and the Catholic CFTC. Finally, the argument comes out where it begins: workers vote Communist or accept Communist leadership because they are so badly served by their society.

The operation of the Marshall Plan made the French economy and French moral problems the special concern of hundreds of American specialists of all kinds. American aid, substantial, useful and effective in getting the economy back on its feet, by the way, made it possible for Americans to give advice.

Some advice dealt with what the French labor movement ought to do. While I was never in France as a government representative, I was among those who did give advice. Now Val Lorwin's book on the French unions enables me to consider the advice I gave in retrospect and against 150 years or so of French working class history.

For myself, I believe that my own advice sometimes took inadequate account of the fact that French labor history is the history of a class, as compared with American labor history, which is essentially the history of a trade union development. Progress by French workers through their history has been political, and made across barricades. Progress by American unions has been economic and has been achieved by picket lines. France's sit-down strikes which preceded and inspired the American sit-down strikes ended in a political agreement in which the government, employers' associations and the trade unions joined, and national legislation. The American sit-down strikes were settled by contracts negotiated between the workers and management in particular factories.

An obvious contemporary consequence of this important difference between the two labor movements is that the major achievements of the US labor movements are written into collective bargaining contracts, while those of French workers are written into the constitution of the country and in its laws.

On arriving in France, someone familiar with American unions is disposed to note the difference between the labor movements and the differences in the standards of living of the workers, to connect the two casually, and to make out of the connection a syllogism which proves the French workers should organize unions that look like the AFL and the CIO.

This does not mean that the help that American unions gave French, German and Italian unions after the war was not useful, or that it was given in an effort to remake the world in the image of the US. When most US help was given European unions, life was so close to subsistence that workers had nothing in energy or money or time to spare for union activities. Money from the American labor movement provided heat for union halls, typewriters and mimeograph machines for union offices, food to keep union organizers going, bicycles to get them around. When the need for this kind of first aid passed, however, it became evident to the CIO, that any effort to impose "American solutions" inside the national labor movements in France and Italy, especially, was regarded by many as a kind of foreign interference, at best as a forgiveable busy bodyism that was nevertheless potentially embarrassing in political competitions with Communists.

Val Lorwin's excellent monograph documents the impossibility of any successful effort to remold the French labor management into a union shop, check off, no-contract-no-work American trade union.

Once this is understood, it is obvious, too, that the situation of the French working class is an aspect of France itself, a phase of French historical development, which will be resolved finally by the way the French nation deals with its evolving destiny.

The principle seems to be that free trade unions can help each other, not by any high-handed interference in internal affairs, not by playing a power politics game within other unions, not by acquiring "their man" in this or that executive board, but by giving quiet encouragement to every step in the direction of healthy independence, grass-roots organization and democratic expression. This encouragement can only do the most good if given modestly, as an act of co-operation rather than attempted dictation. More, the giving of such encouragement must be done with the awareness that its usefulness is limited—to the limited extent to which French national attitudes can or will adopt it under present conditions. Any other expectation can only invite disillusionment and bitterness.

Notes on the Critics

FRIEDA LAWRENCE RAVAGLI'S essay coincides with the twenty-fifth anniversary of Mr. Lawrence's death. ARTHUR SCHLESINGER JR. was awarded a Pulitzer Prize for his book *The Age of Jackson.* VICTOR REUTHER is Director for International Affairs of the CIO.

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CORRESPONDENCE

Lattimore, McCarran and the Due Process of Law

The *New Republic* of December 27, 1954, carried an article by a distinguished Washington correspondent writing pseudonymously as Brian Gilbert and entitled "New Light on the Lattimore Case." Mr. Gilbert made three principal points:

First, a Subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee under Pat McCarran had overstepped the bounds of legitimate Congressional investigation in its twelve-day interrogation of Owen Lattimore.

Second, Senator McCarran, in his capacity as Chairman of the Judiciary Committee, had brought improper pressure to bear upon the executive branch by making confirmation of our Attorney General conditional upon the prosecution of Owen Lattimore.

Third, the Justice Department had acted improperly in prosecuting Lattimore under six counts derived from the McCarran investigation.

This last point was supported by Judge Luther Youngdahl who struck out the first count of the government's indictment. It was, said Judge Youngdahl, "so nebulous and indefinite that a jury would have to indulge in speculation in order to arrive at a verdict." Judge Youngdahl added:

"It is fundamental that a jury should not be asked to determine an issue which can only be decided on conjecture."

In our February 14 issue, the *New Republic* published a letter of protest against Gilbert's article written by Mr. Sol Stein in his capacity as Executive Director of the Committee for Cultural Freedom, and after consultation with his Executive Committee. Mr. Stein upheld Senator McCarran's statement that Owen Lattimore was "from some time in the 1930's a conscious articulate instrument of the Soviet conspiracy." He defended the procedure followed by the McCarran Committee and held that its investigation of Lattimore "was certainly worth the cost to the American taxpayer as a lesson in public education on channels of Communist infiltration more subtle than the acts of 'overt espionage' that Mr. Gilbert is looking for." Mr. Stein further declared that "Congressional committees . . . when they function responsibly, perform a valuable service in furnishing the public with evaluated information concerning the work of apologists and agents of the Soviet Union who have not, or cannot be proven to have, broken existing laws."

Mr. Gilbert in replying noted that the officers and Executive Committee of the Committee for Cultural Freedom included Norman Thomas, George Counts, Arthur Schlesinger Jr., David Riesman, Richard Rovere, Elliott Cohen, Peter Viereck, Hans Kohn and others. He stated, "I for one want to be told: did they approve Mr. Stein's statement issued in their name? And: do they endorse it now?"

The *New Republic* accordingly mailed the article and Mr. Stein's comments to the officers and Executive Committee members with the assurance that we would publish their replies. The replies of David Riesman, Richard Rovere, Professor Muller and Arthur Schlesinger Jr., all members of the Executive Committee of the Committee for Cultural Freedom, are published below. Two other replies from men not named by Mr. Gilbert were received by us and then withdrawn when Norman Thomas, Chairman of the organization's Administrative Committee, was chosen as a spokesman for the Committee. Mr. Thomas' letter is also published below. Since it is addressed to the *New Republic* rather than to Mr. Gilbert, it is followed by the comments of the Editor of this journal.

SIRS:

I recently resigned from the Executive Committee of the American Committee for Cultural Freedom. My decision to do so was taken long before the letter on the Gilbert article, though letters such as this, which appeared to me to demand the entire Committee's attention for the vindictive pursuit of the shrinking minority of "liberals who haven't learned," was one of the reasons for my resignation. (I had delayed resigning at the urging of friends who hoped that the Executive Committee could be reconstituted, so as to become more representative of the concerns of the membership at large, but I eventually became convinced that this was not the case and that, at any rate, I did not have the time, energy, and capacity for the effort.) The Committee, it goes without saying, has accomplished many good and valuable things, in clarifying the nature of Communist totalitarianism and in exposing the apologetics of its fellow-travelers, and in defending, as an aspect of cultural freedom, civil liberties in the academic and intellectual community; many activities of the latter sort have, in the interests of the individuals involved, not been publicized. Still, what appeared to me as a disproportionate amount of the Committee's limited energies have gone into the drafting and discussion of such things as Mr. Stein's letter—a task that can be left to individuals (and Congressional committees!) and one that does not require a Committee for Cultural Freedom.

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Just before resigning, I had written a letter to Mr. Stein asking to be dissociated from the letter on the Lattimore case, and suggesting that whoever wrote it sign it and speak for himself. My own judgment about the chain which runs from Tydings to McCarran to the perjury persecution is mixed, and really beside the point, since I share (as I am sure do most members of the Committee) Mr. Gilbert's belief in due process and his insistence on procedural safeguards. In writing Mr. Stein about the draft letter, I once more emphasized my feeling that there were more important issues demanding the Executive Committee's consideration, and that in any event (irrespective of the factual accuracy of the letter, which I did not question) to put the whole weight of the Committee for Cultural Freedom behind the pursuit of an already beleaguered man, living in limbo and not permitted to teach classes, was an act of inhumanity.

DAVID RIESMAN

Chicago, Ill.

SIRS:

I have read carefully Mr. Gilbert's article, Mr. Stein s letter, and Mr. Gilbert's rejoinder.

It is my view that by and large Mr. Gilbert has the better of the argument. I am in accord with many of Mr. Stein's observations on Owen Lattimore, but I do not accept his satisfied-customer view of the McCarran Committee. I think it was a mess and a menace. I believe that its hearings on the IPR were responsible for a vast amount of the confusion that characterizes discussions of China policy today. This does not mean that I regard the IPR as a source of illumination. History, I think, will take a dim view of the IPR in the 'thirties and 'forties and of the McCarran Committee in the 'fifties.

Having said this, I must also say that I think the Executive Committee of the Committee for Cultural Freedom acted properly in authorizing the release of Mr. Stein's comments. The majority agreed with his views in this matter and looks upon mine as eccentric. The Committee is governed by its majority.

RICHARD H. ROVERE

Hyde Park, N. Y.

SIRS:

I have not followed the case of Owen Lattimore closely enough to express a firm opinion on whether or not he is "guilty" as charged. In any event, however, I regret that Mr. Stein and his Committee have got so worked up about him. It is humiliating that a nation confronted by literally life or death issues should still be distracted and embittered by a hysterical search for scapegoats. Even if guilty, Mr. Lattimore has done far less harm to the democratic cause than have Senators McCarran, Jenner, McCarthy, and their fellow-travelers. Given the national panickiness, I suppose that liberals have to be very careful of the company they keep, and watch out for subversives among them; but it still seems unfortunate to me that they should dissipate what little influence they have by wrangling among themselves, or feeling obliged to prove their 100 percent liberality of spirit by springing to the defense of a McCarran.

HERBERT J. MULLER

West Lafayette, Ind.

SIRS:

1: I disapprove of the prosecution of Mr. Lattimore.

2: I find it hard on the basis of the evidence—some of it noted in the Stein letter—not to believe that Mr. Lattimore was for many years a sympathizer with Communist and Soviet positions. I feel that he would have much strengthened his case in the liberal community if he had candidly admitted this to be the fact instead of seeking to portray himself as a principled anti-Communist.

3: I saw the Stein letter in advance of publication. As I told Mr. Stein at the time, I disapproved of specific portions of the letter, and I also thought that the American Committee for Cultural Freedom ought to find better things to do than to harry Lattimore. I disagree in particular with Mr. Stein's evaluation of the McCarran Committee, and I do not share his (and the *New Republic's*) enthusiasm for the book *McCarthy and the Communists*. I also must state that I disagree with much of Mr. Gilbert's article and letter.

ARTHUR SCHLESINGER JR.

Cambridge, Mass.

SIRS:

In your issue of February 14, the anonymous Brian Gilbert asks whether Norman Thomas shares Sol Stein's view (expressed in a letter on the Lattimore case) "that 'apologists' who break no law are the legitimate objects of Congressional investigators."

Ordinarily I should not answer the question or the long statement containing it. And that for two reasons: (1) In a rather long and often controversial career, I have made it a rule not to debate important issues with men who, like Mr. Gilbert, hide behind anonymity. (2) I do not oblige controversialists who seek to evade issues by asking more or less irrelevant questions to probe and exploit possible differences of opinion among members of a Committee which has issued or authorized a statement by its executive.

But the *New Republic* is a responsible publication and the Lattimore case raises important issues. Therefore, I 'shall answer Mr. Gilbert's question by saying that, of course, I, like the *New Republic* itself, believe that the conduct of men in important areas may often be very legitimately subject to properly conducted Congressional investigation although they have broken no law and may not justly be subject to Grand Jury inquiry, much less criminal indictment. Then I should promptly add that the question is not a fair summary of what is at issue between Mr. Stein and Mr. Gilbert.

It happens that, in the absence of the chairman of the Committee for Cultural Freedom, I presided at a numerously attended meeting of its Executive Committee. The committee authorized Mr. Stein to write a reply to Brian Gilbert's original article on Owen Lattimore, along the lines of the discussion which he led. The sophisticated readers of the *New Republic* know from their own committee experience that such authorization does not mean that any one of the committee giving the authorization would have written precisely the same letter or would give creedal assent to every sentence in it. (Is such assent expected from all the editors of the *New Republic* to every one of its pronouncements?)

The Committee was anxious to avoid any endorsement of the propriety of the indictment of Mr. Lattimore for perjury. That disclaimer Mr. Stein clearly made in his opening paragraph. I myself, using my own name—not a pseudonym—in speech and writing have repeatedly criticized the government for seeking Mr. Lattimore's indictment and I have applauded the defense of our liberties inherent in Judge Youngdahl's dismissal of the most serious—and least specific—counts in it. Many members

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of the Committee have taken a similar position.

But Mr. Gilbert's original article was not concerned merely with the indictment or the motives of Senator McCarran and Roy Cohn in dealing with Mr. Lattimore. (Neither of the gentlemen in question is numbered among my heroes.) But Mr. Gilbert impeached the whole inquiry conducted by committee counsel Robert Morris, now a judge in New York. Lawyers, devoted to civil liberty, have praised that proceeding as something of a model in Congressional investigation. There are occasions when it is the business of Congress for itself and for the people to inquire into acts, whether they were blunders or crimes, the consequences of which still to some degree affect our national policy. The results of such inquiry in the Lattimore case did not prove that he was a Communist. But our Committee, practically unanimously, feels they were not flattering either to Mr. Lattimore's wisdom or to his scrupulous regard for truth. You yourself stated similar contentions far more emphatically in your editorial of July 14, 1952, which Mr. Stein quoted at the end of his letter. You owe it to your readers to tell us whether you have changed your opinion, and, if so, why.

I and my colleagues in the American Committee for Cultural Freedom believe that one fights McCarthyism best when one does not rush to clothe every man, whose legal rights good Americans should defend, in robes of angelic light. Attack by Cohn, McCarran, or even McCarthy, has not been automatically a citation of virtue. One can stand up for Owen Lattimore's rights when he is threatened with criminal proceedings and yet believe intelligent opinion in and out of Congress was the gainer by the inquiry conducted by Judge Morris.

In general, the Committee would agree with Justice Felix Frankfurter, who, in his article "Hands Off the Investigations," published in your magazine on May 21, 1924, enthusiastically praised the Teapot Dome-Daugherty Congressional investigations because they had "revealed incompetence and low public standards," and condemned President Coolidge because he "assumes that law and order are bounded by the Penal Code." And the article approvingly quoted the assertion of Woodrow Wilson: "It is the proper duty of a representative body to look diligently into every affair of government and to talk much about what it sees."

NORMAN THOMAS

New York City

. . . An Editorial Reply

Norman Thomas (whom I love and admire) begins with a personal attack upon the character and motives of Brian Gilbert. Mr. Gilbert chose not to defend himself against this same attack when it was first made by Sol Stein. But, advanced once more by Mr. Thomas, it deserves a reply.

Mr. Thomas accuses our author of hiding behind anonymity. The decision that he should remain anonymous was not Mr. Gilbert's alone but ours as well. Was it reprehensible? Are the authors of the *Federalist Papers* then to be upbraided? The honored tradition of anonymity is older than the Republic and as Mr. Thomas well knows there are additional reasons today why it should be observed by one who is not a dissenter by vocation.

Mr. Thomas accuses Mr. Gilbert of seeking to exploit "possible differences of opinion" among his Committee members. He does an injustice to Mr. Gilbert and worse, to himself. Mr. Gilbert had never heard of the Committee for Cultural Freedom, let alone its internal condition, when we forwarded Mr. Stein's letter to him. He had held in respect the names of Mr. Thomas and some of his associates on the Committee. It seemed incredible to Mr. Gilbert that they should share Mr. Stein's views. And so quite justifiably he asked whether Mr. Stein spoke for these leaders of opinion.

Next Norman Thomas turns to the role of Congressional committees. "I, like the *New Republic*, believe," he declares, "that the conduct of men in important areas may often be very legitimately subject to properly conducted Congressional investigation although they have broken no law. . . ." In support of this view, he cites Mr. Justice Frankfurter, and Woodrow Wilson who once held that: "It is the proper duty of a representative body to look diligently into every affair of government. . . ."

Mr. Thomas, I think, has missed the point. As the Supreme Court pointed out in US *v.* Rumely (which was written by Justice Frankfurter), "President Wilson did not write of the investigative power of Congress in the context of the First Amendment." Wilson affirmed only the power of Congress to investigate government. But Owen Lattimore is not a member of the government. The McCarran Committee investigation of the IPR neither dealt with the performance of the federal government nor pointed to the need for legislation.

Mr. Thomas goes far beyond President Wilson in holding that the conduct of a law-abiding individual citizen is a proper subject for Congressional inquiry. That may be his opinion, but he is quite wrong in attributing the same opinion to the *New Republic*. We hold with the Norman Thomas of 1954, who wrote in his book *The Test of Freedom* that in "the field of opinion . . . any legitimate inquiry should have specific relation to legitimate action by Congress or a state legislature."

Mr. Thomas may answer now that the conduct (not the opinion) of men in important areas may be a proper subject for Congressional investigation, but Mr. Stein *was* surely speaking of opinions in his references to "apologists" for the Soviet Union. Mr. Thomas himself states in *The Test of Freedom*:

> I doubt if an absolute legal formula can safely be framed to distinguish between legitimate legislative inquiry into the acts of a man or group of men and illegitimate inquiry into opinions and beliefs which explain and inspire their acts. . . .

In the Lattimore investigation, opinion and influence, not conduct or action, were clearly the basic concern of the McCarran Committee. The parallel is plain between this Senate investigation and the inquiry by a House committee into Edward Rumely and his lobbying organization. Mr. Rumely was very much concerned with government and legislation. But, in upholding his refusal to testify before a House committee, the Supreme Court declared:

> . . . the power to inquire into all efforts of private individuals to influence public opinion through books and periodicals, however remote the radiation of influence which they may exalt upon the ultimate legislative process, raises doubts of constitutionality in view of the prohibition of the First Amendment.

As a guardian of freedom, the Committee for Cultural Freedom seems to have fallen behind the Supreme Court.

Next, the McCarran Committee interrogation of Owen Lattimore was, of

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course, part and parcel of a larger operation. That operation began with Senator McCarthy's statement, under cloak of immunity, that Lattimore was a "top Soviet espionage agent." It was checked momentarily by the Tydings Committee investigation of Senator McCarthy's methods in which Mr. Robert Morris was Minority Counsel. It continued in Senator McCarran's efforts to vindicate Senator McCarthy. It bore fruit in the continuing efforts of the government to drive Mr. Lattimore to jail. Mr. Thomas condemns the first and last phases of this operation. He condones the second phase. The McCarran inquiry, he seems to say, was "something of a model in Congressional investigation."

Was it? Mr. Thomas cites with approval in *The Test of Freedom* the rules for model investigations drawn up by Senators Morse and Kefauver and various citizens groups. How far did McCarran's "model" investigation comply with these rules?

One rule is the right of witnesses adversely affected to present their case in an orderly manner. Lattimore was denied this right. McCarran in effect branded Lattimore a Communist before he could open his mouth. He was continuously interrupted as he attempted to read his prepared statement.

A second rule is the right of witnesses adversely affected to counsel. Lattimore was denied this right. Counsel was allowed to be present for Lattimore and for the IPR. But counsel was forbidden to ask questions, to cross-examine, to call witnesses, to introduce evidence, or even to object.

A third rule is the right of witnesses adversely affected to present evidence on their behalf. Harvey Matusow was permitted to present evidence he now repudiates as to Communist Party backing of Lattimore. Kenneth Colegrove was permitted to cast doubt on Lattimore because he would not endorse Colegrove's proposal for an armed invasion of China. Harold Stassen was allowed to attack Lattimore and further to accuse the State Department of falsehood and deception in testimony that was itself shown to be false. But Lattimore was not permitted to introduce witnesses on his own behalf.

A fourth rule is the right of witnesses adversely affected to be notified in advance of evidence against them. Lattimore was denied this right. Instead, during twelve consecutive days of testimony the McCarran Committee attempted to involve Lattimore in perjury, first by entrapment, then by sudden confrontation of evidence concerning trivial incidents that took place long ago.

These were a few of the rights denied Lattimore. But the rights of witnesses are not the sole standard for model Congressional investigation. The McCarran Committee investigation failed by standards broader than these. It began with the seizure of IPR documents that the law firm headed by John W. Davis branded as illegal. It ended with a report that distorted evidence against Lattimore by misquotation (thus the report quotes Lattimore as affirming that ". . . the Soviet Union always stands for democracy. . . ." whereas Lattimore had written ". . . the Soviet Union also stands for democracy . . ."). The Committee as Mr. Thomas notes "did not prove that Lattimore was a Communist." That did not prevent the Committee's branding Lattimore as "a conscious articulate instrument of the Soviet Conspiracy."

Mr. Thomas tells us that the McCarran Committee aided public understanding. Did it? Its report, Senator McCarran told the Senate, showed that "but for the machinations of the small group that controlled [the IPR] China today would be free." Was public understanding of Asia thereby benefitted? I, like Richard Rovere, have supposed that the McCarran Committee investigation perpetuated and heightened the popular illusions concerning the Far East that still plague us today.

Mr. Thomas calls upon the *New Republic* to state whether we still hold, as we did in 1952, that Lattimore "erred in professing naïveté or ignorance [concerning Communist infiltration of the IPR] before the committee." The answer is *yes*, but its revelance to the matter in question is marginal at best. We could believe far worse than that of Owen Lattimore and still regard the treatment of him by the McCarran Committee and the Department of Justice as an assault upon the safeguards that protect us all.

The protection of the legal safeguards of freedom, as David Riesman notes, is not the ultimate test in judging these events. The ultimate test is the instinct for humanity that distinguishes us from our enemies.

Mr. Thomas tells us that his Committee feels "practically unanimously" that the McCarran investigation was "not flattering to Mr. Lattimore's wisdom or scrupulous regard for truth." Let us grant this. Are lack of wisdom and even lack of scrupulous regard for truth, crimes commensurate with the punishment Lattimore has suffered? Justice is the balancing of crime and punishment. Has society here been just? We don't think so.

We share with the Committee for Cultural Freedom the belief that free citizens have the moral obligation to combat *as citizens* opinions and actions which they hold to be wrong. We also share the moral revulsion of Americans against kicking a man when he is down. Owen Lattimore's scholarship is forgotten; his reputation is all but ruined; his views are automatically suspect; his influence is not so great that a Committee for Cultural Freedom is required to add its kick to those of the US Senate and the Department of Justice. We distinguish ourselves from the Kremlin when we remember that Owen Lattimore is neither a symbol, nor a slave, but a citizen of a free nation endowed with dignity and entitled to some respect. For the Communists, the root is power; for some, the root is hatred of Communism: for the rest of us (and also, I am sure, for Norman Thomas), the root remains the individual and the decency he is due.

MICHAEL STRAIGHT, *Editor*

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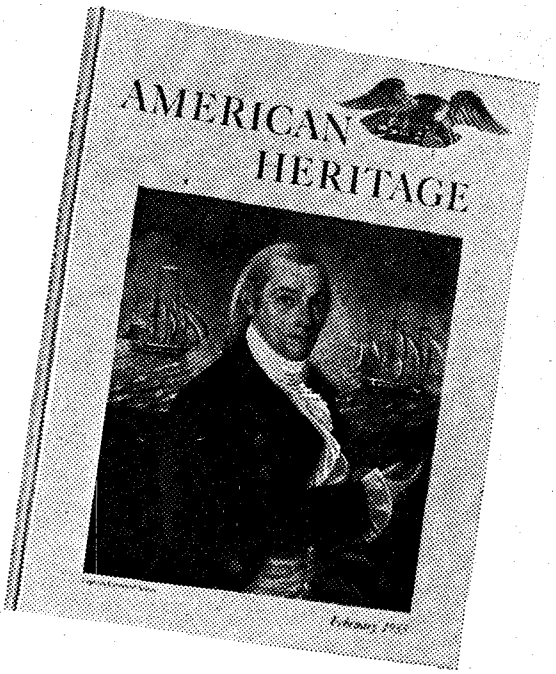

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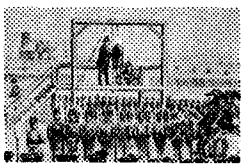

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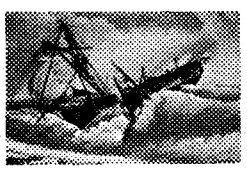

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